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Changing Times: Irish Servants in the 19th-Century Hudson Valley

Events such as the Irish Potato Famine of the 1840s and 1850s led to a major influx of Irish immigrants to the United States in the mid-nineteenth century. The Irish population in the United States grew exponentially at this time; these immigrants settled not only in large cities like New York and Boston, but also in areas like New York's Hudson Valley. Between the years 1830 and 1849, the Irish population of Albany alone rose from eight to forty percent.ⁱ During the same period, the Hudson Valley itself was completing its transformation from a purely rural community into a market economy.ⁱⁱ Many of the new Irish immigrants, upon settling in places like the Hudson Valley, found work in their new country as domestic servants, farm laborers and other such positions.

The roles of these Irish house and farm workers are significant as they provided a foothold for the Irish as a group in American society. As Margaret Lynch-Brennan writes, “[c]redit is due to the Irish Bridget for pioneering the way for the Irish to become accepted by native-born Americans and for helping the Irish, as a group, move into the American middle class.”ⁱⁱⁱ In the course of this paper I will explore the experiences of Irish servants in the Hudson Valley, show how their experiences relate to the experiences of servants of the period in general, and use specific examples to support the argument that their experiences served to increase acceptance of the Irish in American society.

In order to understand the role played by the Irish in the mid-nineteenth century Hudson Valley and how this role affected the standing of the Irish as a group in American society, it is worth briefly looking at the economic conditions of the Hudson Valley during this period. As previously mentioned, the early to mid-nineteenth century marked a period of transformation for the Hudson Valley. From the late eighteenth century to the 1820s, improvements to transportation, such as increased road and canal construction,

increasingly connected the Hudson Valley to larger markets like New York City. Canals like the Erie and the Delaware and Hudson also brought Hudson Valley farmers into competition with those in the western part of the state.^{iv}

Some farmers in the Hudson Valley - those “who owned substantial amounts of property, farm animals, and equipment”^v - became large-scale producers of goods for trade in large markets like New York City, changing from farmers to businessmen in the process.^{vi} Smaller farmers who were unable to compete with this sort of large-scale production stayed afloat by “producing specialized market-oriented agricultural crops or manufactured goods.”^{vii}

As smaller farms and farm families became more specialized in what they produced and focused on producing goods for sale at market, they began to rely more and more on purchasing goods that would once have been produced at home. “They produced a smaller variety of goods for home use and local trade since much of this could now be purchased more cheaply at local stores,” writes Thomas S. Wermuth in his Hudson Valley economic study *Rip Van Winkle’s Neighbors*.^{viii} “After 1820, farmers produced primarily for long-distance markets and not neighborhood trade.”^{ix} Martin Bruegel, in his *Farm, Shop, Landing* writes, “[s]pecialization locked the mid-Hudson Valley area into an increasingly intensive interregional trade.”^x

Although from the Finger Lakes region rather than the Hudson Valley proper, Isaac Phillips Roberts, who in adulthood became the first Director of the College of Agriculture at Cornell, wrote about similar changes to the economic conditions of mid-nineteenth century New York during his childhood: “It is certainly marvellous [*sic*] how in one generation, the New York pioneers changed from homespun clothes, coonskin caps

and shoes made from boottops, to Congress gaiters, patent leather shoes, or... black long frock coats and silk hats... In the same generation the farmers gave up the ox-cart and farm wagon and began to ride in top carriages... We were not unlike other fortunate peoples, settled in a district of unbounded natural resources which required relatively little skill to transform into articles of use and luxury. But some of this transformation demanded both skill and hard work.”^{xi}

Roberts’ experiences provide a first-hand look at the changes occurring in rural New York society described by Wermuth and Bruegel in their studies. From these sources we can see that the Hudson Valley and nearby areas were strongly agricultural regions undergoing rapid transformation. Farms needed farmhands, and the increasing number of middle- and upper-class households needed servants such as maids, nurses and the like to function. New immigrants who settled in the Hudson Valley, including those from Ireland, often found work in positions like these.

It is also worth briefly looking at the immigration trends that brought the Irish into this changing Hudson Valley environment. As previously stated, during the early-to-mid nineteenth century, Irish immigration to the United States dramatically increased, due most prominently to the Great Famine of 1845-52. Lynch-Brennan writes, “[t]he Great Famine precipitated a flood of emigration throughout the English-speaking world, and thereby, more so than earlier and later famines, it profoundly affected not only Ireland but... in particular the United States.”^{xii} In particular, the Irish peasant class, which constituted seventy-five percent of Ireland’s rural population, was decimated. “Approximately two million people disappeared, one million left Ireland, and one million died, mainly from diseases... rather than from starvation.”^{xiii}

There were also secondary factors, many of them related to the Great Famine, that contributed to the growing numbers of Irish immigrants entering the United States. During and after the period of the Famine, many large Irish families could only afford a dowry for one daughter, which by Irish customs of the time was a requirement for marriage. At the same time, marriages were often arranged by parents, who usually wanted to match their daughters with men of similar or greater economic standing. Thus, many Irish women for whom a dowry could not be provided or for whom an suitable husband could not be found left the country for the United States in hopes of finding a husband there, while girls who rejected the idea of the arranged marriage entirely left with the intent of finding a different kind of life in America.^{xiv}

Irish women often entered domestic service in America for several reasons. Since many of these women were young and single, signing on to work as servants solved the problem of finding housing.^{xv} Language could also be beneficial to prospective Irish servants. During the Great Famine, the number of speakers of Gaelic in Ireland diminished as it became “associated with the destitution of its speakers.”^{xvi} Though some of the Irish immigrants to the United States during this time were still Gaelic-speaking, many were able to speak English.^{xvii} Faye E. Dudden states that since the English-speaking Irish “[faced] no language barrier, they could find ready acceptance as servants,” thus giving them an advantage over non-English speaking immigrants from other places such as Germany and the Scandinavian countries.^{xviii}

Lynch-Brennan, in her more recent writing, notes that “some evidence exists that Irish-speaking domestics, like their Swedish and German counterparts, may have dealt with language problems as household workers in America,” but also points out that the

U.S. Census did not account for people's first languages until 1910, so exactly how many Irish servants were Gaelic-speaking or bilingual remains unknown.^{xix}

David M. Katzman also links a lack of literacy to the large numbers of Irish women who entered domestic service: “[l]ack of education forced many women into service and barred them from moving into other work. Literacy was an advantage in household work, but was by no means a requisite. Many immigrants, though literate in their native tongue, could not read or write English. Moreover, Ireland had offered little educational opportunity to the women who had migrated to the United States, and many came without the ability to read or write.”^{xx} As we can see, there were numerous factors, positive and negative, that drew Irish immigrant women to domestic work.

Irish men also immigrated to the United States for reasons related to the Great Famine. As Lynch-Brennan points out, in the Famine years small farmers increasingly began bequeathing their farms to only one of their sons, rather than the earlier practice of dividing land to accommodate all children of the family.^{xxi} The men who did not inherit farms often left Ireland as well, and many of these men from agricultural backgrounds would seek work on farms in the United States.

There was certainly a great need for hired help on farms of the period. Martin Bruegel writes, “The expanding national market, with its sharper competition, pressured the region’s agriculturalists into reinventing themselves after the second decade of the nineteenth century... Although improved equipment and livestock sustained rising production... productivity growth relied on the intensification of well-known work practices... farm families increasingly turned to hired, paid men and women to work on farms.”^{xxii} Other types of manual labor also drew Irish workers: in the Catskill

mountains; for instance, many worked at rock quarries. One quarry settlement on Overlook Mountain was known for years after as “the Irish Village.”^{xxiii} In the Hudson Valley itself, though, farm labor seemed to remain the most common source of employment for Irish immigrant men.

Having explored the economic conditions of the Hudson Valley in the early-to-mid nineteenth century and the reasons that Irish immigrants during that period were often drawn to work in positions of domestic service and manual labor, we will now turn to the actual experiences of Irish domestics and farm laborers working in the Hudson Valley and see how their experiences compare to common experiences of domestic servants in the nineteenth century and support the assertion that they paved the way for the Irish as a whole to gain prominence in American society.

A number of notable figures in the Hudson Valley, such as former President Martin Van Buren,^{xxiv} and painter Frederic Edwin Church, hired Irish domestic servants. The Church residence, Olana, just south of the city of Hudson in Greenport, New York, is an especially interesting example as Church not only maintained an upper-class household, but also a small farm operation on the same property. Although the Churches hired servants and farm workers of several different national origins, including native-born American, English, Scottish, German, and, in one case, Persian, the Irish constituted the single largest national group among the Churches’ house and farm staffs.^{xxv} The Olana archives also contain a large number of letters from all members of the family (Church, his wife Isabel, and all four of their surviving children), whose comments on the servants reveal much about the servants’ lives and how they were perceived by their employers. Because of this wealth of information, the bulk of my archival research has

centered on the Olana collection; examples from other sources will also be used as appropriate.

It has often been stated that one of the problems in researching the lives of servants is that the vast majority of surviving documentation comes from their employers rather than from the servants themselves.^{xxxvi} In the particular case of female servants, Faye Dudden writes that because domestic work was considered “part of female experience,” it was sometimes forgotten or intentionally omitted from former servants’ memories as it was considered “private, disconnected, and undignified.”^{xxxvii} Patricia West, in her study of the servants at Martin Van Buren’s home Lindenwald, in Kinderhook, writes, “historians and curators must seek innovative methods to clear the smoke screen of domestic ideology, including class and ethnic prejudice... in order to uncover the lives of domestics.”^{xxxviii} By examining several different aspects of the lives of Irish servants in the nineteenth century and comparing them to the letters and other archival materials surviving in places like the Olana collection, we will be able to gain a better understanding of the lives of Irish servants living in the Hudson Valley during this time.

One important aspect of servants’ life in the Hudson Valley is simply how they came to be employed in this area in the first place. There were a number of ways for servants and employers to come into contact with one another, including simple word-of-mouth communication between employers and newspaper advertising.^{xxxix} Servants might utilize assistance of community and religious organizations - often Catholic groups, in the case of the Irish immigrants who often were members of the Catholic church.^{xxx} Some Irish girls were able to acquire positions through relatives who were already established as servants in a particular household.^{xxxi} Employers might make inquiries of family

members and friends. But these methods were not always ideal - an employer placing an ad in a newspaper seeking a servant, for instance, might result in the inconvenience of having to interview a large number of applicants, while an employer answering an ad placed by a servant would have the equal inconvenience of having to travel to “bad” parts of a city for a meeting.^{xxxiii} Prospective servants sometimes had no permanent homes to receive such visits, and sometimes were illiterate and thus unable to place ads in the first place.^{xxxiii} Thus employers and prospective servants alike often turned to the use of employment agencies, often known as “intelligence offices.”^{xxxiv} “It is a safe estimate that fully three fifths of all household workers are placed by offices,” according Frances A. Kellor.^{xxxv}

Much has been written about the intelligence offices over the years, starting with Kellor’s *Out of Work; A Study of Employment Agencies*, first published in 1904. Kellor’s assessment of intelligence offices was often less than flattering: “The treatment of employees in some offices, even the best, is so brutal and humiliating that our increasing wonder is, that employees are as good as they are,” she wrote. “We are absolutely sure we could not have continued the rounds of these offices, seriously looking for work, as these women do, year after year, without becoming untruthful, dishonest, impertinent, and perhaps intemperate and immoral.”^{xxxvi}

“There are in New York and Chicago at least twenty-five per cent. more offices than are required for the amount of business,” she continues. “It follows, then, that many of them must resort to questionable methods.”^{xxxvii} Since girls had to pay a fee, usually a percentage of their wages, in order to be placed by an agency, some agencies would place servants with employers with the understanding that they were to be there temporarily

until called back by the agency. The girl would shortly thereafter be called back to the agency and have to pay another fee in order to be placed with another employer. “One girl said she had been placed ten times in one year, netting the office twenty dollars in fees, for it received a percentage of the wage each time, and a neat sum for lodging until placed again.”^{xxxviii} There was also a “simpler method:” an intelligence office is established, advertises and attracts a number of prospective servants, collects fees from them, and then the proprietor disappears with the funds without actually placing anyone in a position.^{xxxix}

Similar employment agencies also existed for the hiring of men, in positions such as farm hands, contract laborers, brickmakers and the like. Kellor devotes a chapter in *Out of Work* to these establishments. Like their female counterparts, Kellor finds some faults in the male employment agencies - notably that many of them were located in or near saloons (“fully two thirds [in Boston and Philadelphia]... and in New York this is true, almost without exception”) and were places where idle drunkenness was not uncommon.^{xl}

Despite the horror stories, there were some reputable employment agencies, and employers often relied on them due to their convenience. Lynch-Brennan states that, though little is known about specific views of servants’ own views of intelligence offices, what information does exist suggests that servants seemed to generally overlook their negative aspects and spoke “neutrally and matter-of-factly about them”^{xli} - they were, after all, a way to find work for those with few or no other means of doing so, even considering the potential pitfalls.

It is known that some Irish servants entered the Hudson Valley by means of these

employment agencies. After moving to his permanent residence in Columbia County in 1860, Frederic Church continued maintaining a studio in New York City for nearly three more decades and often returned to the city to conduct business; both he and his wife Isabel had ample opportunity to use the employment agencies to supply domestic servants for their home. In 1867 Church wrote about going to New York to find a replacement for a problematic waitress, probably from an agency: “I may find it necessary to visit the city again in a week or two, and endeavor to secure a waitress. The one we have is intolerable in her stupidity, and wears my wife’s life short.”^{xlii} In 1872 he wrote about the need to acquire a replacement nurse: “[O]ne of our nurses has left... but it involves the necessity of getting another... Mrs Church feels the importance of getting one at once so she will accompany me to Town on Wednesday with the intention of not returning until our want is supplied...”^{xliii}

Two years earlier Church also wrote about his farm staff: “[m]y farmer has just been to New York and brought up two or three hands... wears spectacles like a German student and understands grape and fruit culture in general.”^{xliv} It is possible that these new hands were acquired by way of the male employment agencies Kellor described. Although the farm hand Church mentioned in detail was not Irish (the man he refers to probably is one Lewis Kessner, a forty-year-old laborer from Switzerland recorded on the 1870 Federal census^{xlv}), the waitresses and nurses he talks about in the previous letters very likely were Irish; the majority of house staff members recorded in those years were. It is also worth noting that the 1870 census also records on the farm staff a hired hand named Michael McKenna (misspelled as “McCanny”), a 25-year-old Irishman who would become a mainstay at the Church residence and who will be discussed further later

in this paper.

It was one thing to bring servants to the Hudson Valley, but quite another to keep them there. Servants were often reluctant to take positions outside urban areas due simply to the isolation.^{xlvi} “Many young women thought service in the country ‘too dull,’ but going out of the city was reportedly a real ‘bugbear’ for ‘most Irish girls,’ because of the lack of opportunity for sociability,” Dudden writes.^{xlvii} Even in cities socialization for servants was often difficult - “Irish girls of a neighborhood would regularly gather in one or another kitchen for an evening’s visit. Many employers would forbid such groups in their homes, and even employers... who permitted such gatherings, disliked them.”^{xlviii} Employers often saw such socialization as distracting from work and were mistrustful of gossip.^{xlix}

As difficult as socialization for servants in urban centers like New York City might have been, things must have been even worse in less populated areas further upstate. The records do attest to this: of the twenty-five female servants employed by the Church family between 1878 and 1895, only eight remained employed for any more than one season.¹ The Churches often reduced the size of their staff in the winter, with Isabel Church sometimes taking the opportunity to restructure the staff operation. This could certainly account for some of the turnover in this household. “...[B]ut we go tomorrow and I’m up to my ears- paying off servants etc. - and doing a little arranging for the winter- Mamie, does not probably return, poor child she had tears in her pretty eyes when I told her, but we certainly do not require so many servants,” wrote Isabel Church in 1894.^{li} As seen in some of the letters previously quoted, outright firings occasionally happened as well, such as in the case of the servant Church said had to be let go because

she wore “his wife’s life short” due to her “stupidity.”

However, other households in the area experienced similar turnover rates. Martin Van Buren’s house staff in Kinderhook generally consisted of “four young Irish women at any given time,” among them, but each census revealed a complete turnover of all staff members.^{lii} Patricia West states that in the Van Buren household, too, seasonal house closures and dismissals would have accounted for some of this turnover, but also notes that “it was far from unusual [for servants] to quit jobs at which they were unhappy... considering Lindenwald’s rural location, servants may have experienced particularly keenly the isolation from the kitchen-stoop conviviality of urban neighborhoods, not to mention the lack of nearby Catholic services.”^{liii} This lack of opportunity for socialization and distance from Catholic places of worship (like those at Lindenwald, many of the Irish servants hired by the Churches and other households in the area were likely Catholic) probably also contributed to the high turnover rate of the staffs at not only Lindenwald, but also Olana and other Hudson Valley residences.

The stigma of service was such that American-born women often refused to engage in such work, due to “the lack of opportunity for advancement, the monotony, the unsystematized approach of employers, the length and irregularity of hours, the limited freedom, the isolation and loneliness, the role of subordinate and servant, and the employer’s demand for deference and servility.”^{liv} Lynch-Brennan states that the influx of Irish immigrants into domestic work in the mid-to-late 1800s simultaneously caused a lowering of the status of the Irish and of service work, recounting one American-born woman who stated that “very many ignorant girls can get housework to do, and a girl who has been used to neatness and the refinement of a good home does not like to room

with a girl who has just come from Ireland and does not know what neatness means.”^{lv}

Although service work carried a stigma in and of itself, one of the greatest problems Irish servants faced were negative stereotypes directed specifically toward the Irish. In the case of Irish women working in domestic service, the stereotype of Irish “Bridget” or “Biddy” became commonplace. The Irish Bridget was often criticized as being ignorant of housework and the terminology of household implements, lazy, careless, and wont to overindulge on their employers’ food, tea and sugar and generously share it with her visitors.^{lvi}

Even the accent the Irish servants spoke with became a source of complaint. Lynch-Brennan recounts a story of an Irish maid being fired because “the people said they couldn’t keep her because they didn’t want the children to pick up her English.”^{lvii} Frederic Church eluded to a dislike of the Irish accent: “we have a Scotch waitress whom we like exceedingly. She talks the broadest Scotch imaginable, which is preferable, rather, to Irish.”^{lviii}

Irish women were known for a love of fashionable clothing, which, according to Lynch-Brennan, “offended insecure middle-class Americans that their servants could dress so well they could be mistaken for middle-class women.”^{lix} Perhaps worst of all in the eyes of employers, the Irish Bridget “most definitely did not display the submissiveness expected of American women in the cult of true womanhood.”^{lx} There was a long tradition of assertive women in Irish culture, ranging from Saint Brigid and the female pirate Grainne Mhaol to Mary Ann McCracken, who became involved in the 1798 Rebellion, and this traditional assertiveness followed Irish women to America.^{lxi} David Katzman quotes a *Good Housekeeping* article of the period, in which a former

domestic servant displayed this assertiveness, saying, “I hate the word service. We came to this country to better ourselves, and it’s not bettering to have anybody ordering you around.”^{lxii}

Religious discrimination also sometimes posed a problem for Irish domestics. Many Irish servants were Catholic, sometimes creating conflict with their Protestant employers. Some employers attempted to convert their servants to Protestantism, and were offended when the servants refused to join in family prayers.^{lxiii} Outright mistrust and suspicion of Catholic servants was common, for reasons ranging from fears that priests would learn “the views of the family” by way of servants’ confessions, to rumors that Catholic servants would carry off the family’s children to secret baptisms.^{lxiv}

Faye Dudden recounts Hannah Wright Gould, a Protestant employer living in the city of Hudson, attending a funeral at the Catholic church in 1851, becoming concerned when she heard a baby crying during a baptism in another part of the church. Gould thought that the baby sounded like her own daughter, who she had left with her Irish servant to attend the funeral, and immediately worried that the servant, in “her holy Catholic zeal,” had brought her child to the church to be baptized. “Mrs. Gould strained her neck in vain, finally relaxing only when the child’s screams became too furious to be [her daughter’s].”^{lxv} “‘Irish’ and ‘Catholic’ seemed to be synonymous in common usage,” Dudden states.^{lxvi} Such concerns over religion often led employers looking for domestics by way of newspaper advertisements to specify that Irish or Catholic servants were not welcome. Margaret Lynch-Brennan shows two newspaper ads from the 1860s. Both state that “Irish need not apply;” one of the two also states that the family is specifically looking for “a first class Protestant Cook.”^{lxvii}

Irish Catholic servant women had their own concerns over retaining their religious identity, as well. These concerns are expressed in Mary Sadlier's novel *Bessy Conway; or, The Irish Girl in America* of 1861, written especially for an audience of Irish Catholic servant girls. In its preface, Sadlier stated that "there is no class more exposed to evil influences than the Irish Catholic girls who earn a precarious living in America. To those who are even superficially acquainted with the workings of that chaotic mass which forms the population of our cities, of the awful depth of corruption weltering below the surface, and the utter forgetfulness of things spiritual, it is a matter of surprise that so many of the simple-hearted peasant girls of Ireland retain their home-virtues and follow the teachings of religion in these great Babylons of the west."^{lxviii}

Bessy, Sadlier's protagonist, faces anti-Catholic discrimination in a passage meant by Sadlier to illustrate the importance of maintaining one's Catholic faith in the face of this sort of adversity. Bessy is called by her employer, Mrs. Hibbard, to join the family in prayer - Mrs. Hibbard, in turn, was convinced by a reverend to try to convert her Catholic servants to ensure her own salvation. Bessy protests, telling her employer that although they both "believe in the Lord Christ and His atonement," "there's many things we believe that you don't, so we [the Catholic servants] couldn't pray with you at all." Mrs. Hibbard then tries to convince the other servant girls to join the prayer, but the other girls stand behind Bessy. In the end, due to the entire debacle Bessy is fired with one week's notice, but finds a new position with a Catholic employer before she even leaves Hibbard's house.^{lxix} It is perhaps worth noting that the Hannah Wright Gould letter quoted by Dudden notwithstanding, in the course of my own primary research I did not find any direct references to Hudson Valley Irish servants of the houses I studied facing

discrimination specifically for reasons of religion, but it as the Gould letter shows, in other households in the area of this period such discrimination certainly did occur.

The stereotype of the “Irish Bridget” led to negative portrayals in newspaper articles and cartoons, jokes, and on the stage, in productions like the Russell Brothers’ “Irish Maggie” (one scene has Maggie, the Irish maid, telling her employer that she had not put fresh water in the fishbowl because “they ain’t drunk up what I give ‘em yesterday”).^{lxx} A suggestion for home entertainment published in 1860 suggested that “a lady might wish to ‘personate a newly-caught Irish chambermaid’ by ‘using the broadest brogue’ and wearing ‘the commonest dress.’^{lxxi} “Blaming the Irish ‘Biddy’ for servant problems reflected her exemplification of the characteristic shortcomings of domestics,” Dudden writes, “for she was... strange not just personally but culturally.”^{lxxii}

Irish men fared little better against negative stereotypes. “Irish immigrant men in the United States have been portrayed as drunken louts, brutes, and wife beaters” - not necessarily true; Lynch-Brennan points out that some Irish men were active in temperance societies.^{lxxiii} She also states that traditional Irish drinking patterns were often episodic, that is, men drank on special occasions such as times of tragedy, and theorizes that the “drunken” stereotype may, at least in part, be derived from Irish men being observed during these times of “episodic” drunkenness by observers who assumed that they were “drunken louts *in general*.”^{lxxiv}

The image of Irish men was not helped by outbursts of violence in places like New York City. For example, a major riot in 1871 between Protestant Orangemen and Irish Catholic laborers resulted in gunfire by police and National Guard troops and over sixty civilian casualties.^{lxxv} In the wake of the riot, Thomas Nast, political cartoonist

remembered today for his role in the downfall of the Tweed ring and his creation of enduring political symbols like the Democratic “donkey” and Republican “elephant,” responded to the riot with a cartoon entitled “The Usual Irish Way of Doing Things,” showing a drunken Irishman, depicted with distinctly simian features, wielding a rum bottle in one hand and lighting the fuse of the powder keg he sits on with the other. Various slogans are scrawled on the wall behind the figure, including “Our liberty has been taken away (killing Orangemen).”^{lxxvi}

A few years earlier Nast commemorated the 1867 St. Patrick’s Day Riot, which resulted in police casualties, with a particularly vicious cartoon entitled “St. Patrick’s Day 1867 - The Day We Celebrate.” The scene shows a group of police officers being assaulted by Irish men wielding sticks, brickbats and other weapons. The Irish themselves are again depicted as primitive, ape-like creatures, and captions to the image read, “Brutal Attack on the Police. Irish Riot. Rum. Blood.”^{lxxvii}

The pervasiveness of such stereotypes often show through in the writings of employers of Irish servants in the Hudson Valley. This can be seen in letters by Frederic Church, such as one from 1874 in which he casually uses the derogatory term “biddy” for one of his servants in preparing his studio for use: “Biddy with soap and water will scour out my Painting Room on Saturday transforming it- from a store into a studio- soon after- I hope to wield the bristles steadily all winter...”^{lxxviii} There is also the aforementioned letter where Church states that one of the greatest virtues of his new Scottish waitress is that she “talks the broadest Scotch available, which is preferable, rather, to Irish.”^{lxxix}

In 1869, during he and his family’s travels in the Middle East and Europe, Church expressed discontent with a particular Irish nurse, Margaret, who the Churches brought

with them on their journey to help care for their two young sons (one of whom was born during the trip), and who Church believed became “spoiled” by her accommodations on the trip. “We are all awry with our nurses. The one we took from America has terribly degenerated since she has traveled first class and is now simply horrid... our favorite dream is to secure a paragon of a nurse for Freddie [his son] and we shall make a desperate attempt to find one in Great Britain- throwing out Ireland.”^{lxxx} A month later, when preparing to return to the United States, Church wrote that “when we get to New York - Irish Margaret will receive a very promptly issued walking ticket.”^{lxxxi}

Although Church’s statements regarding Margaret were comparatively mild, it is interesting how often he felt the need to point out her nationality - calling her “Irish Margaret” - and of course he did state that he would completely avoid Ireland in searching for Margaret’s replacement. His wife, Isabel, also makes mention of her dissatisfaction with Margaret, but unlike her husband, she makes nothing of the servant’s nationality: “[w]e have three nurses... [including] Margaret whom we shall joyfully part from as soon as we reach New York...”^{lxxxii}

In 1879 Church wrote an amusing letter about his friend and traveling companion Louis Legrand Noble of Catskill, an Episcopalian minister and writer (author of *The Life and Works of Thomas Cole* and *After Icebergs with a Painter*, both important books related to the Hudson River School of painters). While this letter does not involve any commentary on the Irish, it does provide insight into attitudes toward servants in general in the Hudson Valley. Noble had lost his wife a year and a half earlier, and at the age of sixty-eight had just remarried. “Married a girl of 22,” Church wrote to another friend, Joseph Austin. After leaving a blank space on the page, Church resumed, “I leave a little

space for you to breathe- The young woman officiated as help in his house.” He then left another space on the page for Austin “to breathe.” Church is quick to point out, though, that “the young woman is an excellent woman, a farmer’s daughter and not a downright servant. Still the whole matter has astonished his friends, none of whom and an inkling even, until the DEED was done.”^{lxxxiii} Based on Church’s description of the event, it seems that the fact that Noble’s new wife was a housekeeper was even more scandalous than the fact that she was a third his age - but at least she was from a respectable family and not just “a downright servant;” that would be even worse!

Several decades earlier, in 1845, Martin Van Buren found himself trying to make peace between two members of his serving staff at Lindenwald who apparently had difficulty getting along. “The two women I made swear eternal friendship got jealous of each other, the cook could no longer keep down the Devil that I saw in the corner of her eye when she first arrived... and I have sort of Riot downstairs,” the former President recalled to his former Secretary of the Navy, James K. Paulding. “Finding that soft words were of no effect I assumed toward them an aspect more sour and ferocious than you can imagine, suspended the cook and a very devout Irish chambermaid, who with all her piety is a devil of a bully... The female waiter has escaped unhurt...”^{lxxxiv}

Van Buren’s statement concerning the chambermaid being a bully and the cook having “the Devil in the corner of her eye” could be linked to a distaste for assertive Irish women as discussed earlier, and his poking fun at the “devout” chambermaid’s religious could perhaps be seen as having some slight anti-Catholic undertone. The most interesting part of Van Buren’s statement, however, is his use of the term “riot,” with a capital “R.” More than just a simple descriptor, the use of this word here is, in the words

of Patricia West, “a potent metaphor with significant political connotations.”^{lxxxv}

Although the Orange Riots in New York that drew such vitriolic responses from Thomas Nast were still decades away, outbreaks of violence involving the Irish were not unheard of in New York or elsewhere; perhaps most notably, the Philadelphia Nativist Riots of 1844 between anti-Catholic nativist groups and Irish Catholic immigrants had happened just the year before the incident in Van Buren’s kitchen, and were still fresh in the minds of many, no doubt including the ex-President.

Although he did not mention the specific nationality of the servant in question, even Isaac Phillips Roberts, Director of Cornell’s College of Agriculture, who was born in 1833 in East Varick in the Finger Lakes region,^{lxxxvi} west of the Hudson Valley, made negative comments involving a domestic servant in his autobiography. He stated, “[a]s to the desirability of whiskey as a beverage, my earliest experience as well as my later ones lead me to an unfavorable opinion; for, on the morning I was born, the hired woman helped herself to the whiskey and before breakfast time she was unable to perform her duties. This left all the housework for a family consisting of an invalid mother, five children and some half dozen harvest hands, to be done by my eldest sister Caroline (who was only twelve years of age, with such assistance as the other children could render.”^{lxxxvii} Although Roberts did not identify the national origins of the hired woman specifically, this comment is still a good indicator of attitudes toward servants in general - as the incident took place “on the morning [Roberts] was born,” this could not possibly be a personal recollection, but a piece of family lore that had probably been passed down by his parents and older siblings. It very well could be a true story, but the fact that his family members deemed it a story worthy of being continually retold, and that Roberts

himself thought it worthy of placing in his autobiography, certainly says something about the negative attitudes many had toward domestic servants generally (and, though Roberts did not say that this “hired woman” was Irish, many Irish stereotypes do involve drinking, which Roberts’ story hinges on).

Even the very spaces in which they lived can tell us much about the lives of domestic servants, Irish and otherwise, and the attitudes their employers had towards them. In his influential book *The Architecture of Country Houses*, Andrew Jackson Downing includes designs for houses of various sizes and shows the proper places for the servants’ quarters. The emphasis is generally on the separation of the servant’s spaces from the rest of the house. One house plan calls for a fireplace to be placed in a dressing room rather than the adjacent bedroom, solely so that “the servant who lights the fire in the morning is not obliged to enter the bed-room.”^{lxxxviii} Another design calls for the servants’ quarters to be above the kitchen wing, “and there may also be two or more good servants’ bed-rooms over the drawing-room.” The second floor of this house design is taken up by seven bedrooms and two dressing rooms that could double as extra bedrooms, relegating the servants to attic spaces.^{lxxxix}

In still another plan Downing states that a “flight of back stairs, for servants, is indispensable in villas of large size, and, when space can be found for it, adds greatly to the comfort and privacy of even small villas.”^{xc} Downing considers the separation of the servants’ areas even on the exterior of the house. “Especially attention should be paid to disposing the plan so that the kitchen and its offices should be placed upon a screened or blind side, or one that can be easily concealed by planting.”^{xcii} Keeping the servants and the parts of the house associated with them out of sight was of paramount importance.

Did the Hudson Valley estates we have been discussing follow the suggestions of architects like Downing who placed such great importance in the separation of servants and keeping them “out of sight and out of mind?” Martin Van Buren’s Lindenwald certainly did. The house features a basement door that was likely meant as a separate servants’ entrance. A narrow staircase into the tower provides access to the servants’ quarters and connects them with the work areas in the basement. The servants’ rooms themselves are three austere rooms on the attic level of the house, with plain plaster walls, pegs for hanging clothing and no fireplaces nor heating ducts. The kitchen, too, was in the basement and completely separate from Van Buren’s own living areas, with “plastered stone walls and tiny windows.”^{xcii}

Frederic Church’s Olana also follows the recommendations of Downing at least to an extent. Olana was designed by Church himself and Calvert Vaux,^{xciii} who was, early in his own career, Downing’s partner, and there are some aspects of the house’s design that are very much in line with Downing’s recommendations and the earlier design of Lindenwald. For example, Olana features a separate flight of “back” stairs for the servants to use, creating a physical separation from the family’s own spaces. Also, the exterior service yard and the stables are at the rear of the house, where Church placed trees and foliage to screen them from view from the property’s carriage roads.^{xciv}

However, Olana does deviate from the “standard” servants accommodations in a few ways. The kitchen, for instance, is not in the basement, but on the main floor of the house. It is relatively spacious with large windows on two sides of the room - certainly a contrast from the basement kitchen at the Van Buren residence. The servants’ living quarters are not in the attic but on the main second floor of the house, albeit a few steps

down from the master bedroom/guest room level, and again, having their own separate staircase for access. There is some separation of the servants' quarters, but the separation here is not as dramatic as at Lindenwald nor in the house designs proposed by Downing in his book. And, although they more austere than the family bedrooms or guest rooms and were sometimes shared by more than one person, the four servants' bedrooms at Olana are spacious, with large opening windows, full closets, heating ducts and gas lighting. A major drawback is that the Churches' servants did not have any form of indoor plumbing in their quarters while the master bedroom area featured a full bathroom.^{xcv} Overall, though, these accommodations seem better than one might expect for servants' rooms of the period, and certainly better than the "norm" established in works like Downing's.

Why was this? No reasons written by Church or anyone else connected with the house's design are known to exist, so we can only speculate about his home's somewhat atypical servants' accommodations. Olana is the latest house discussed - built in the 1870s, as compared to Lindenwald's construction prior to and renovations during the 1840s and Downing's house designs of 1850. Perhaps the quarters at Olana were a bid to attract staff members to remain in service to the Churches at a time when holding onto staff members for long periods was still difficult in isolated Hudson Valley locations - Church once remarked that "wages should not be a barrier when an exceptionally good [servant] offers her services. Situated as we are we must pay much more than country service usually demands. The fact that they can have several months of freedom [in the winters] every year counts in our favor and also the exceptionally healthful climate at Olana has proved an incentive for many to retain their positions."^{xcvi} Considering the trouble people

in the Hudson Valley often had retaining their servants for long periods, the Churches used other means, such as higher pay and their home's "healthful" climate to try to attract servants to stay on; perhaps the higher-quality living quarters were part of the same idea. Or, perhaps Olana's improved servants' accommodations were reflective of changing attitudes toward servants as the century wore on; of the servants receiving more personal consideration from the Churches than they had from those earlier figures.

Having now thoroughly explored various aspects of the lives of Irish servants in the United States in the mid-to-late nineteenth century and having seen how the lives of those Irish servants working in the Hudson Valley compare to those common experiences, we can now see if Lynch-Brennan's assessment that the Irish servants "paved the way" for the Irish as a people in American society holds true here; if employers' attitudes towards Irish servants changed over time. The Church family is a good sample family to use, as a large number of letters survive not only from Frederic Church himself, but all of his other family members, his wife Isabel, and their four surviving children, as well.

As we have seen already, Frederic Church himself often made comments in his letters referring to his servants in distinctly stereotypical terms, whether calling a servant "Biddy" or expressing dislike for the Irish manner of speaking. Born in 1826, Church grew up himself during the time of the largest influx of Irish immigrants to the United States, and his comments seem to be colored by many of the general attitudes and stereotypes prevalent during those years.

Attitudes of the time toward other groups, like African-Americans, also show through in some of Church's writings. In 1889, a letter from one of Church's visitors recounts Church telling a "good story" - what today could only be considered a racist

joke - involving a slave ferry operator who saved money to buy his freedom. When he had finally saved enough a white friend asked him if he was now a free man, he replied that he was not; he had fallen into the river the night before and nearly drowned, causing him to decide not to buy himself as “negro property [was] too uncertain.”^{xcvii}

I do not believe it would be fair to completely write Church off as a bigot, however. Despite the aforementioned letter recording his telling a racially-themed joke on one occasion, Church was a strong supporter of the Union cause during the Civil War years, using paintings like *The Icebergs* and the patriotic *Our Banner in the Sky* to raise funds for Union charities during the war years.^{xcviii} Among his close friends Church counted Samuel Clemens, better known as Mark Twain,^{xcix} who expressed strong views in favor of abolition and civil rights for blacks and other minorities. And Church was a strong supporter of Charles Ethan Porter, an artist from Church’s own native Hartford, who was African-American. “Frederic Edwin Church, the [*Hartford Daily*] *Times* reported, had recently visited Porter, bought paintings, and declared him to have ‘no superior as a colorist, in the United States.’ Word spread that Porter was devoting the winter to landscapes because Church had urged him to. When Church visited again in April, he ‘expressed a great pleasure with [Porter’s] landscape effects, particularly the atmospheric.’”^c

Although thus far his negative comments have been focused on, Church sometimes wrote positively about his servants. In 1885 he remarked that the “House [is] full to overflowing [with guests]- Wife pretty well loaded with cares but bearing her burden cheerfully- However, all the servants are capable and well disposed...”^{ci} And despite his sometimes negative comments regarding the Irish, it is worth noting that the

longest-serving employees on Church's staff were indeed Irish. Michael McKenna, first recorded as a 25-year-old farm hand on the 1870 census, later became the Church's coachman and remained in that position for over the next quarter century. He appears for the last time on the 1900 census, still working after Church's passing for his son Louis, at age 53.^{cii} Church seemed to greatly value Michael's presence on the staff and his opinion on certain matters; for instance, a series of 1896 letters between Church and his adult daughter, who was looking for a new carriage, show that Church sought Michael's advice several times on the best quality vehicle (the "Phaeton Buggy") and its cost (around \$110).^{ciii}

Michael's sister, Jane McKenna, was also a long-term employee, having worked for the Churches nearly as long as her brother as the head cook. She also appears on the censuses of 1900 and before. The 1900 census had a column for recording the date of a person's immigration to the United States; it listed Michael as having come to this country in 1866 and Jane in 1870^{civ} (perhaps Michael arranged with the Churches to employ his sister when she came into the country). By 1900, both Michael and Jane had spent essentially their entire time in the United States employed by the Churches.

Isabel Church also often referred to the serving staff at Olana in her letters. The way she related to the staff members is interesting as her tone - though never negative - alternated between being very business-like, and sometimes showing what seemed like genuine affection towards some staff members. The business-like tone Isabel sometimes used in discussing the servants is not at all surprising as the house servants were considered to be under her direct supervision. She often either discussed what work the staff was currently occupied by, such as in 1892, when she wrote to her daughter that

“our house full of things takes ‘a many’ people to keep it in order - Eliza was at work before five this morning - Friday - I made the laundress clean your rooms, and the little halls & stairs - She did it ‘protesting’ but very well nevertheless...”^{cv} The next year, Isabel was traveling and sent instructions home to her son Louis about what he should have the servants work on: “will you, as soon as possible, get Michael [McKenna], William [McKenna, Michael and Jane’s brother who worked for the Churches in the 1890s], and Jimmy, to take up the sitting room carpet and shake it well - and put it down for me? I fear your father will suddenly want to go home and want this done before he returns. Ask Jane [McKenna] if she cannot find some woman... to scrub the sitting room floor whilst the men are shaking the carpet - and also - to clean her kitchen, and pantry walls and ceilings. This is all, much needed and Jane cannot do it - Perhaps that Irish woman who lives on the side hill... could do it.”^{cv}

As mentioned, Isabel could also show a more affectionate side toward the servants, and especially the long-serving McKennas. A few days before writing Louis the just-quoted letter about having the rug shaken out, et cetera, Isabel had written another letter home in which she closed, “love to Jane, Michael, and William.”^{cvii} Isabel’s kindness toward her staff seemed to result in the servants holding their mistress in high regard as well. Louis wrote to his mother in 1894, “Jane asked me to tell you sometime ago that she did not want you to give her any thing for xmas as she says you have been too good to her already.”^{cviii}

The Church children also make frequent reference to the servants, even in some of their childhood letters. Around 1873, Frederic and Isabel’s eldest surviving son Frederic Joseph (Freddie) Church, about seven years old, wrote a letter to Santa Claus listing the

various gifts he and his siblings wanted. Among them was “some bells for Michael to put on my sleigh.”^{cix} To be sure, Freddie Church really wanted the bells as a gift for himself, but even at this young age Freddie seemed to consider Michael as a part of the household who had been there as long as he could remember (Michael immigrated in 1866, the year of Freddie Church’s birth). In adulthood, Freddie wrote home and often included the servants in his letters. One, in particular, includes the McKennas in his fond memories of home after receiving a care package containing some of Jane’s cooking: “The bounteous box that you sent me arrived in perfect condition last evening, & its contents will be the greatest treat that I have had for years... we ate a jar of the brandied peaches... tell dear old Jane that all I had to do was shut my eyes, and I was in Olana.”^{cx}

Theodore Winthrop Church, the family’s second surviving son, also wrote fondly of the McKennas, telling his brother Louis in a letter home to “present my profound respects to Mr & Miss McKenna.”^{cxii} Louis Palmer Church, the third son of the family, makes several mentions of the servants, especially at the very end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth, during the times that Louis was managing the property at Olana due to his father’s declining health, and ultimately when he took over the property by inheritance after Frederic Church’s death. Perhaps most telling as to the level of regard Louis had come to hold the servants, especially the McKennas, and the major role they came to play in the household, is the letter Louis wrote to his fiancé just after his father’s death in 1900. He makes a special mention in this short letter that when he “went home to get his things,” he found that “poor Michael & Jane... they have been faithful servants and are much broken up. In all the 35 years Michael has been driving my father & mother they never had an accident.”^{cxiii} The fact that Louis was putting so much

thought into the feelings of the Irish servants at such a trying time as the loss of his father, I believe, speaks volumes on the rising status of these particular Irish servants in the minds of their employers.

There is one particular episode at Olana, in 1890, which I believe fully embodies the changing place of the Irish servant in society in the nineteenth century. In October of that year, several visitors came to Olana, including the writers Susan Hale and Charles Dudley Warner, and Warner's wife Susan. During the evening's entertainment, Hale performed "The Elixir of Youth" from the Churches' grand staircase, which has a raised stage-like platform at the base. Not only did the Churches' guests get to see her performance, but a "sort of gallery behind a screen was arranged," behind which the servants were allowed to sit and watch. "Mrs. Warner played soft music as the Old Lady [played by Hale] came gliding down the stairway..." In the final scene, "Michael, the great big coachman, brought in the Baby [again, played by Hale], to the great delight of the gallery, who thought the whole performance the best thing ever seen."^{cxiii} In this episode we see some of the lingering effects of the tradition of separation between servant and employer, in that the servants who were allowed to watch the performance had to do so from behind a screen, separated from the family and other guests. But we can also see a major increase in acceptance, that the Churches' coachman, Michael McKenna, an Irish immigrant and manual laborer, was well-liked by his employers and their guests so much so that in an evening in a wealthy household with notable names among the guests, Michael was allowed to participate in the entertainment.

As we can see, the Irish domestic servants, laborers and farm workers in the nineteenth-century Hudson Valley fit into their place in history in many ways. Like their

counterparts in cities like New York, the Hudson Valley Irish servants in households like Lindenwald in the middle part of the century and Olana in the later part faced obstacles like isolation and prejudice. But times were changing. “The Irish Bridget made the Irish human to the middle-class Americans with whom she lived and for whom she worked,” Margaret Lynch-Brennan writes.^{cxiv} This is true, of course, not only for female servants but men as well.

In the case of the Church family’s servants, and particularly their long-serving Irish cook Jane McKenna and her brother Michael, the coachman, we can see how over time the attitudes of their employers changed and softened toward them. Frederic Church, who sometimes made stereotypical comments, found himself sometimes coming to his Irish employees for advice and seemed to come to like and trust them; his wife Isabel, nine years his junior, seemed to see the servants as employees but employees worthy of showing kindness towards. Their children, having grown up with these Irish servants always around, seemed to relate to them in many ways as essentially being equals; Louis Church even showed concern for the feelings of these servants after the passing of his own father.

By examining the writings of the members of this Hudson Valley family, we get a glimpse into how the status of the Irish in the nineteenth century over time improved and indeed paved the way for future generations of Irish-Americans. David M. Katzman writes, “the next generation - the first to be born in the United States - had adapted sufficiently to the American experience to avoid household labor. While in 1900 60.5 percent of Irish-born women wage earners in the United States were servants or laundresses, only 18.9 percent of the next generation worked in household labor...

Clearly, for Irish immigrants service had provided the vehicle for entry into American society and for upward mobility.”^{CXV} The experiences of these servants in the Hudson Valley - among them, the servants of Martin Van Buren at Lindenwald in Kinderhook, the McKennas and the other Irish employees of the Churches at Olana, and my own great-great-grandmother Katherine Traver, who worked during this period in a household in Esopus - provided the inroads for the Irish to enter the mainstream of American society.

- i Patricia West, "Irish Immigrant Workers in Antebellum New York: The Experience of Domestic Servants at Van Buren's Lindenwald," *The Hudson Valley Regional Review*, Volume 9, Number 2 (Sept. 1992): 114.
- ii Martin Bruegel, *Farm, Shop, Landing: The Rise of a Market Society in the Hudson Valley, 1780-1860* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2002): 2-4.
- iii Margaret Lynch-Brennan, *The Irish Bridget: Irish Immigrant Women in Domestic Service in America, 1840-1930* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2009): xxii.
- iv Thomas S. Wermuth, *Rip Van Winkle's Neighbors: The Transformation of Rural Society in the Hudson River Valley, 1720-1850* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001): 103.
- v Wermuth, 112.
- vi Wermuth, 91.
- vii Wermuth, 91.
- viii Wermuth, 133.
- ix Wermuth, 134.
- x Bruegel, 79.
- xi Isaac Phillips Roberts, *Autobiography of a Farm Boy* (Albany: J. B. Lyon and Company, 1916): 55-56.
- xii Lynch-Brennan, 23.
- xiii Lynch-Brennan, 23.
- xiv Lynch-Brennan, 25-27.
- xv Faye E. Dudden, *Serving Women: Household Service in Nineteenth-Century America* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1983): 60-61.
- xvi Lynch-Brennan, 45.
- xvii Lynch-Brennan, 45-46.
- xviii Dudden, 60.
- xix Lynch-Brennan, 47.
- xx David M. Katzman, *Seven Days a Week: Women and Domestic Service in Industrializing America* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1978): 231.
- xxi Lynch-Brennan, 25.
- xxii Bruegel, 91.
- xxiii Alf Evers, *The Catskills: From Wilderness to Woodstock* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, 1972): 571-572.
- xxiv Lynch-Brennan, 66-67.
- xxv Various Federal and State Censuses between 1865 and 1900 attest to this.
- xxvi Lynch-Brennan, xix-xx; West, : 115-116.
- xxvii Dudden, 2.
- xxviii West, 116.
- xxix Lynch-Brennan, 95.
- xxx Lynch-Brennan, 95.
- xxxi Lynch-Brennan, 98.
- xxxii Dudden, 79.
- xxxiii Dudden, 79-80.
- xxxiv Lynch-Brennan, 95.
- xxxv Frances A. Kellor, *Out of Work; A Study of Employment Agencies: Their Treatment of the Unemployed, and Their Influence Upon Home and Business* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904): 119.
- xxxvi Kellor, 6.
- xxxvii Kellor, 43.
- xxxviii Kellor, 44.
- xxxix Kellor, 44.
- xl Kellor, 179-180.
- xli Lynch-Brennan, 97.
- xlii Frederic Edwin Church to William Henry Osborn, 26 March 1867, transcript at David C. Huntington Archive and

Olana Research Collection, Olana State Historic Site, Hudson, NY.

- xlⁱⁱⁱ Frederic Edwin Church to Erastus Dow Palmer, 15 July 1872, transcript at David C. Huntington Archive and Olana Research Collection.
- xl^{iv} Frederic Edwin Church to William Henry Osborn, 16 May 1870, transcript at David C. Huntington Archive and Olana Research Collection.
- xl^v U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, Ninth Census, 1870, Greenport, Columbia County, New York, s.v. "Frederic E. Church," *Heritage Quest*, HeritageQuestOnline.com.
- xl^{vi} Lynch-Brennan, 113.
- xl^{vii} Dudden, 198.
- xl^{viii} Dudden, 199.
- xl^{ix} Dudden, 199.
- l Kathleen A. Gray, "Olana's Domestic Servants Research Paper" (Cooperstown Graduate Program, 1992): 20.
- li Isabel Carnes Church to Downie Church Black, 7 November 1894, transcript at David C. Huntington Archive and Olana Research Collection.
- lii West, 116.
- liiⁱⁱⁱ West, 116.
- li^v Katzman, 241-42.
- li^v Quoted in Lynch-Brennan, 89.
- li^{vi} Lynch-Brennan, 70-71.
- li^{vii} Lynch-Brennan, 71.
- li^{viii} Frederic Edwin Church to William Henry Osborn, 13 June 1867, transcript at David C. Huntington Archive and Olana Research Collection.
- li^x Lynch-Brennan, 76.
- li^x Lynch-Brennan, 71.
- li^{xi} Lynch-Brennan, 35-36.
- li^{xii} Katzman, 39.
- li^{xiii} Lynch-Brennan, 72.
- li^{xiv} Dudden, 69.
- li^{xv} Dudden, 69.
- li^{xvi} Dudden, 70.
- li^{xvii} Two advertisements from the *Boston Transcript*, shown on Lynch-Brennan, 75.
- li^{xviii} Mary Anne Sadlier, *Bessy Conway; or, The Irish Girl in America* (New York: D. & J. Sadlier, 1861): iii.
- li^{xix} Sadlier, 205-208.
- li^{xx} Lynch-Brennan, 76-78.
- li^{xxi} Lynch-Brennan, 77.
- li^{xxii} Dudden, 71.
- li^{xxiii} Dudden, 144.
- li^{xxiv} Dudden, 145.
- li^{xxv} Edwin G. Burrows & Mike Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York to 1898* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999): 1005-1008.
- li^{xxvi} Thomas Nast, "The Usual Irish Way of Doing Things," wood engraving, *Harper's Weekly*, 2 September 1871, commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:TheUsualIrishWayofDoingThings.jpg, accessed 30 November 2010.
- li^{xxvii} Thomas Nast, "St. Patrick's Day, 1867 - 'The Day We Celebrate,'" wood engraving, *Harper's Weekly*, 6 April 1867, 212.
- li^{xxviii} Frederic Edwin Church to Erastus Dow Palmer, 6 November 1874, transcript at David C. Huntington Archive and Olana Research Collection, Olana State Historic Site, Hudson, NY.
- li^{xxix} Frederic Edwin Church to William Henry Osborn, 13 June 1867, transcript at David C. Huntington Archive and Olana Research Collection, Olana State Historic Site, Hudson, NY.
- li^{xxx} Frederic Edwin Church to William Henry Osborn, 1 May 1869, transcript at David C. Huntington Archive and Olana Research Collection, Olana State Historic Site, Hudson, NY.
- li^{xxxi} Frederic Edwin Church to Mrs. Weeks, 7 June 1869, transcript at David C. Huntington Archive and Olana

- Research Collection, Olana State Historic Site, Hudson, NY.
- lxxxii Isabel Carnes Church to Lucy Carnes, 1 June 1869, transcript at David C. Huntington Archive and Olana Research Collection, Olana State Historic Site, Hudson, NY.
- lxxxiii Frederic Edwin Church to Joseph Austin, 27 August 1879, transcript at David C. Huntington Archive and Olana Research Collection, Olana State Historic Site, Hudson, NY.
- lxxxiv Martin Van Buren to James K. Paulding, 4 January 1845, quoted in West, 117.
- lxxxv West, 117.
- lxxxvi Roberts, 5.
- lxxxvii Roberts, 14.
- lxxxviii Andrew Jackson Downing, *The Architecture of Country Houses* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1850): 341.
- lxxxix Downing, 360.
- xc Downing, 272.
- xcI Downing, 271.
- xcii West, 117-118.
- xciii John K. Howat, *Frederic Church* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005): 161-162.
- xciv Personal observation of the building and grounds at Olana.
- xcv Personal observation of the servant's rooms at Olana.
- xcvi Frederic Edwin Church to Isabel (Downie) Church Black, 24 March 1898, transcript at David C. Huntington Archive and Olana Research Collection, Olana State Historic Site, Hudson, NY.
- xcvii Kate Bradbury to unknown recipient, December 1889, transcript at David C. Huntington Archive and Olana Research Collection, Olana State Historic Site, Hudson, NY.
- xcviii Howat, 105-108.
- xcix Howat, 86; several letters between Church and Clemens exist in the Olana archive.
- c Hildegard Cummings, *Charles Ethan Porter: African-American Master of Still Life* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 2007): 42-43.
- ci Frederic Edwin Church to Erastus Dow Palmer, 8 July 1885, transcript at David C. Huntington Archive and Olana Research Collection, Olana State Historic Site, Hudson, NY.
- cii U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, Twelfth Census, 1900, Greenport, Columbia County, New York, s.v. "Louis P. Church," *Heritage Quest*, HeritageQuestOnline.com.
- ciii For example, Frederic Edwin Church to Downie Church Black, 13 September 1896, transcript at David C. Huntington Archive and Olana Research Collection, Olana State Historic Site, Hudson, NY.
- civ F. E. Church to D. C. Black, 13 September 1896, Huntington Archive and Olana Research Collection.
- cv Isabel Carnes Church to Isabel Charlotte (Downie) Church, 13 June 1892, transcript at David C. Huntington Archive and Olana Research Collection, Olana State Historic Site, Hudson, NY.
- cvI Isabel Carnes Church to Louis Palmer Church, 26 March 1893, transcript at David C. Huntington Archive and Olana Research Collection, Olana State Historic Site, Hudson, NY.
- cvii Isabel Carnes Church to Louis Palmer Church, 21 March 1893, transcript at David C. Huntington Archive and Olana Research Collection, Olana State Historic Site, Hudson, NY.
- cviii Louis Palmer Church to Isabel Carnes Church, 5 December 1894, transcript at David C. Huntington Archive and Olana Research Collection, Olana State Historic Site, Hudson, NY.
- cix Frederic Joseph Church to Santa Claus, circa 1873-1876, transcript at David C. Huntington Archive and Olana Research Collection, Olana State Historic Site, Hudson, NY.
- cx Frederic Joseph Church to Louis Palmer Church, 13 April 1893, transcript at David C. Huntington Archive and Olana Research Collection, Olana State Historic Site, Hudson, NY.
- cxI Theodore Winthrop Church to Louis Palmer Church, 24 March 1893, transcript at David C. Huntington Archive and Olana Research Collection, Olana State Historic Site, Hudson, NY.
- cxii Louis Palmer Church to Sally B. Good, 9 April 1900, transcript at David C. Huntington Archive and Olana Research Collection, Olana State Historic Site, Hudson, NY.
- cxiii Susan Hale to Lucretia Hale, 16 October 1890, transcript at David C. Huntington Archive and Olana Research Collection, Olana State Historic Site, Hudson, NY.
- cxiv Lynch-Brennan, 83.

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